LABOUR MONTHLY

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Editor: R. Palme Dutt

Summit and After

The background set out by R.P.D.

★

Men of Metal on the Move

by our Industrial Correspondent

★

What's this about Korea?

by D. N. Pritt, Q.C.

CONAKRY CONFERENCE
(Document)

A NEW TOWN
A. H. Luker

STUDENTS' ACTION
Judy Atkinson

LENIN MEMORIES
N. Krupskaya

JUNE · 1960

One Shilling and Sixpence

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GRAND TOUR

LAST MONTH the grey *Labour Monthly* van went out on a 1,700 mile tour through 21 English counties and 13 Scottish counties in the perfect weather of early spring. From London I decided to follow an old trail, that of the first people whose journey through Britain is recorded. So I shot up north, most of the way along the dead straight roads the Romans built two thousand years ago; through their military base at York, over their military wall and beyond the border, across the great firth, past the Kingdom of Fife to the fair city of Perth on the River Tay. (Here the sixty-third Scottish Trades Union Congress was meeting.) It was here that the empire-minded invaders, seeing the broad sweep of the North Inch on the Tay's upper reaches, exclaimed in their condescending Roman way: 'Behold, the Tiber!'—and promptly built the military camp of Inchtuthill. (But not for long; for they were forced to dismantle it, and it was taken away stone by stone.) Naturally a Scot soon quoted to me:

'Behold, the Tiber!' the vain Roman cried,
Viewing the ample Tay from Baigley's side.
But where's the Scot that would the vaunt repay
And hail the puny Tiber for the Tay?

Well, the Romans went, back to their own Tiber, thanks not only to the struggles of the peoples of this island (north, south and west of the border) but also of the subject peoples of Europe, the Middle East and North Africa. And with the decline and fall of their slave civilisation, their military bases fell into ruin too; doubtless the stones provided the masonry used again and again in grey walls, cottages and churches whose successors we see today. But we kept their roads, which were anyhow probably built by our ancestors' labour, under Roman taskmasters, before we were judged 'ripe for self-government'.

Different kinds of invaders troubled the 450 delegates to this year's Scottish T.U.C. at Perth. What was in their minds, and on their lips, was the danger to peace of rocket bases on Scottish soil and of West German nuclear rearmament. Creeping unemployment, the deterioration of Scottish industry, the loss of craftsmen and of skills. The fight to keep whole communities from becoming twentieth century 'deserted villages' or 'condemned towns' as William Moore described so vividly in the May L.M. How to prevent Scottish economy and trade from shrinking and being distorted under a system where industrialists will only invest their capital where labour is cheap and they can be assured of cheap fuel and transport at privilege prices—at the expense of the nation in general and miners and railwaymen in particular. Where American tycoons have to be begged, cap in hand, to 'bring work' to Scotland—and respond by importing McCarthyite practices and refusing to recognise shop stewards. Where trade and commerce is all at sixes and sevens, because our rulers permit Britain's economy to be dominated by their American and West German rivals in pursuance of 'cold war' policies. In each debate delegates demanded essentially the same thing: a Socialist solution, a stronger Socialist fight, as being the bread-and-butter need today. I noted many a speech based on articles in L.M.; and the warm reception we got everywhere was heartening. (There was the Labour councillor who snatched up a bundle

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Notes of the Month

1. *Summit and After*

'For past these Alpine Summits of great pain
Lieth thine Italy'

THE summoning of the Conference of Heads of State to meet this month has brought the hour of decision for the future of the world. In these Notes written before its opening, when even doubts could be cast on its being held ('If I go', Eisenhower on May 6), it would be idle to speculate in advance on its outcome. That the auspices should be far from favourable at the outset is no matter for surprise. It may indeed be assumed that even at the best this Conference could be no more than the first step towards the wider and serious further negotiation which will be necessary if the aim of a peaceful future free from the menace of nuclear war is to be attained. That the Conference should have been convened at all has already represented an initial victory in the fight for peace. But a long and stubborn further fight will be necessary before the aims of peaceful co-existence and disarmament can be brought within practical reach.

What is the heart of the problem? Negotiation towards an East-West settlement is recognised in principle by the responsible statesmen on both

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sides as indispensable, since the alternative path could lead at any moment, in the present explosive situation, to major war with incalculable destructive consequences. But negotiation is only possible provided there is a serious readiness on both sides to negotiate. The conditions for this are far more advanced than ten years ago (outbreak of the Korean War) or five years ago (abortive first Summit Conference at Geneva). But they are not yet sufficiently advanced to bring a major settlement within view. Every day's incidents (U.S. espionage plane over the Soviet Union; U.S. decision to resume nuclear tests; speeding up of West German nuclear rearmament) increase the urgency. On all sides the popular demand for peace and disarmament, for liberation from the nightmare of nuclear war, is rising in a flood tide—not least in Britain. But between this universal popular aspiration and the actual political and diplomatic situation there is a gap. Hence the necessity to raise the fight for peace and disarmament to a new and higher level, from a general aspiration to a positive and conscious fight for a concrete programme to end the cold war and win an East-West settlement. This is now the main lesson arising from the present Summit Conference.

Blocks in the Path

The Summit Conference is a conference of four participants. But if three of the four participants have fixed up everything between themselves beforehand, what is left for negotiation? Negotiation is not possible on the basis of previous loudly proclaimed rigid and inflexible positions, from which it is publicly announced in advance that no deviation can for a moment be considered. Yet this is the fantastic approach which has been adopted. The fifteen months since Macmillan's visit to Moscow, and the agreement in principle for a Summit Conference, have been occupied with an interminable series of noisily advertised 'Western Summit Conferences', of Western Heads of State, or Western Foreign Ministers, in Washington, London, Paris or Bonn, to proclaim anew each time the successful restoration of unshakable Western unity on unalterable agreed positions from which no deviation will be allowed at the Summit Conference. From his prompter's box Grandfather Adenauer utters threats and imprecations against any agreement being attempted. All this is no doubt revealing for the actual conflicts of interests and mutual suspicions between the partners of the Western alliance. But it hinders useful negotiation. If everything has really been

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fixed up beforehand by the Western Summit Conferences, why negotiate?

The Great Contradiction of 1960

The answer to this question brings us to the central, sharp, glaring contradiction of the present international situation. On the one hand, the whole Western nuclear strategy is now in ruins—whether the bombers that can be shot down before they have a chance of arriving, the bomber bases that are sitting ducks for destruction, the imaginary 'deterrent' which intimidates no-one except the citizens of the country possessing it, the intermediate rocket missiles, the fixed missile bases or the still hypothetical mobile missile launchers, the Thors, the Blue Streaks, the Blue Steels, the Skybolts, the Polarises, the whole brood of 'Has Beens' 'Never Was' or 'Maybe's'. On the other hand, Western policy and diplomacy has not yet caught up with the facts, is still living in the 'cold war' world of all the assumptions of the past fifteen years, the assumptions of the 'policy of strength', of a grandiloquent imaginary Western superiority to dictate terms, of the obstinately maintained grandiose system of bases round the world and a crazy patchwork of military blocs of tottering reactionary regimes to encircle communism, 'contain' communism, 'roll back' its frontiers, 'liberate' the peoples of the new rising world, and all the rest of the high-falutin rodomontade of counter-revolutionary bravado.

Can the Twain Meet?

Between these two worlds, the real life world of 1960 and the image-world of Western diplomacy, there is still little contact. The new conditions have compelled the West to enter on the path of negotiation. But the simultaneous refusal to accept the political consequences of the new conditions, the clinging to the old 'cold war' assumptions, blocks the path to effective and fruitful negotiation. The 'policy of strength' so long and still proclaimed by Western diplomacy as the keynote of its foreign policy ('The North Atlantic Alliance remains the cornerstone of our foreign policy', President Eisenhower in December, 1959), was never a noble foreign policy; it recalled only too faithfully the Kaiser's 'mailed fist' conception of diplomacy, constituted the familiar incitement to the arms race and thwarted negotiation. But to attempt to continue the 'policy of strength' when the assumptions of strength have collapsed is indeed the last infirmity of ignoble minds. Herein lies the peculiar contradiction of the present phase, which is revealed in the current

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problems of the Summit Conference. This contradiction, if unchanged, could eventually only lead to war, whatever the professions or subjective intentions of the statesmen concerned. It is this contradiction which the further advance of the fight for peace needs now to resolve.

Britain the Cockpit

It is not without significance that the heart of this contradiction is most conspicuously and manifestly demonstrated at this moment in Britain, which is at the heart of all the contradictions of dying imperialism. The end of Blue Streak* after the expenditure of years of research and oceans of wealth (£100 million according to the Government, £250 million according to the *Daily Express*), brought into the open the bankruptcy of the loudly boosted nuclear strategy and 'deterrent' theory of the preceding White Papers, supported equally by the Tory Government and the Right-wing Labour leadership. No alternative is found; for the picture of the bombers successfully functioning until 1965 would not deceive a child. But the consequence for policy is not drawn. The Government still proclaims its adherence to nuclear strategy and the 'deterrent' theory, even though it does not know what form it will take and is still 'considering' and 'investigating'. The result is a visible hiatus in British strategy and policy without parallel in the history of British imperialism.

Battleground of Labour

The consequent crisis of Labour Party leadership and policy over nuclear strategy is, as always, the echo and reflection of this crisis of ruling class policy and strategy. On the one hand, the upper leadership still seeks to proclaim undying fidelity to its master's not yet abandoned doctrine of the NATO nuclear strategy and the exploded 'deterrent' theory (on the false and fanciful assumption that the only alternative is non-resistance pacifism). But it is desperately at a loss, after the Government's abandonment of Blue Streak without a visible alternative, to say what form this shall now take ('It would be quite wrong for me to commit myself to any one of the solutions', Gaitskell's May Day speech) until it can hear the master's voice again giving a clear signal. The Front Bench leaders who staked their shirt on the Government's H-bomb policy are now not a little indignant at being let down without further instructions ('Even

*Incidentally also of Zeta, which, being for peaceful purposes, received far less cash.

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I cannot be expected to go on supporting a policy which has no chance of ever being realised', George Brown in parliament on April 27).

Towards a New Policy

In striking contrast to this confusion of the leadership, the robust common sense of the active organised workers in the trade unions, as seen most recently in the vote of the engineers, together with the majority of the constituency Labour Parties, and wide sections of the youth and professional people, has already drawn the conclusion to cut the losses on the bankrupt and suicidal NATO nuclear policy and advance to a realist foreign policy for peaceful co-existence and disarmament. The movement against nuclear weapons, and for the repudiation of Britain's support of nuclear strategy, was only five years ago, at the outset of the Government's decision to manufacture the hydrogen bomb, confined to a handful of pacifists and to communists and the militant left. Within the last three years it expanded to a wider movement, even though still at first mainly expressing an emotional aspiration rather than a clear political content. In the most recent period it has swept forward, not only in broad mass support of the most divers sections, but also in political content, to advance the challenge, not only against the British H-bomb, but also against the use of Britain as a nuclear launching ground and target through the American bases, and therefore against the whole NATO nuclear strategy. Thus the fight for nuclear disarmament in Britain, at first limited and almost insular in tone, has inevitably under the pressure of events grown into a fight for a new foreign policy for Britain, vital for the future of the British people. This new stage of the fight for peace in Britain, now developing to a critical point within the Labour Party, is most closely bound up with all the problems and tasks of the Summit Conference, for the ending of the cold war and for peaceful co-existence and disarmament, and is a powerful weapon on an international scale to promote the fulfilment of these aims.

2. *Can We Win Peace?*

Why has a Summit Conference been convened anew in 1960 after the failure of the first Summit Conference in 1955? The question is worth asking because, to judge from Western official utterances before the Conference, the Western Powers have been loftily condescending from their great heights to show a great favour to the

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anxious desires of the Soviet Union by consenting with a considerable show of reluctance and scepticism to take part in such a Conference at all. The Soviet Union, it has been insisted in the preliminary statements, must be prepared to make very great concessions in order to prove in deeds its wish for peace, if the Conference is to be of any use. The Western Powers, it has been further insisted by each successive communiqué of the preliminary meetings of their spokesmen, must stand absolutely firm and yield no inch of ground.

Pouring Cold Water

In contrast to the positive approach of the socialist world, and the hopes expressed by popular opinion in all countries, Western official public expression has in the main struck a chilly note and sought to damp down popular expectations. Especially United States official expression has been negative in the extreme. The keynote was struck by the declaration of Secretary of State Herter on March 22 that he was 'frankly not too optimistic that the Conference would produce great results. I doubt whether any very important specific decisions will be taken at the Summit'. Asked why in that case the United States was taking part, he replied that this was only because 'Britain and France had wanted a Summit conference', *i.e.*, because of the pressure of public opinion in Britain and France. The most open and violent enemy of the Summit Conference has been Chancellor Adenauer, who has repeatedly expressed apprehension and suspicion with regard to what might arise from it, and has publicly sought to impose in advance a personal veto against any agreement which might weaken his position, interfere with the plans for West German rearmament, including nuclear rearmament, or prepare the way towards recognition of the German Democratic Republic. Every reassurance has been given to this vociferous enemy of East-West agreement. Why then negotiate?

1955 and 1960

The real facts of the world situation, which have compelled a Summit Conference, reveal a very different picture from the braggadocio and bluster of the Western spokesmen. For in fact between 1955 and 1960 the alternative was tried. The first Summit Conference in the summer of 1955 aroused such a wave of popular enthusiasm throughout the world, by the mere fact of its being held, by the mere fact of the statesmen meeting instead of going to war, such a relaxation of tension, such a joyous advance of the progres-

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sive forces everywhere, that the Western statesmen took fright as they saw the prospect of their whole ramshackle structure of subsidised reactionary regimes, military blocs, bases and colossal arms build-up come toppling down in the sunshine of peaceful co-existence. Hastily they reversed the engines, and at the Foreign Ministers' Conference in the autumn of 1955 repudiated what had been agreed at Geneva, refused to carry out the Geneva directive with regard to Germany and European security, and created deadlock. Even the Eden Plan for a disengaged zone on either side of the East-West line of division was buried so deep that official spokesmen today try to deny that it ever existed, although the facts are on record in the documents.

Failure of the Alternative

So they tried the alternative. In 1956 the two-pronged armed offensive of imperialism was let loose simultaneously at Suez and in Hungary against the world of socialism and national liberation. Both attempts ended in utter failure. The new world was too strong. Then followed the Anglo-American armed occupation of Lebanon and Jordan. Once again these armed assaults of Western imperialism ended in an ignominious fiasco and withdrawal. The triumphant Iraq revolution smashed the central pillar of the hated Baghdad Pact of imperialist domination in the Middle East, so that it has had to be reorganised under the alias of Cento (why not Dollaro?) to comprise only the anti-Arab or non-Arab reactionary dictatorships of Turkey, Iran and Pakistan; and even these are shaking. The attempted Western agitation on behalf of the serf lords and slave-owners of Tibet aroused no echo. The victorious Cuban popular revolution, despite all the arms supplies from the United States and Britain to the hated dictator Batista, has kindled the flame of a new upsurge of Latin American liberation. Africa has arisen. At the same time the constructive achievements of the new world between 1955 and 1960, unparalleled in scale and character, and demonstrated equally in the Great Leap in China, the Sputnik, the Lunik or the Seven Year Plan, have rendered out of date the impotently vicious 'policies of strength' of Western imperialism and compelled a new approach to negotiation.

New World Balance

Thus the positive facts compelling negotiation are stronger than all the negative, hostile language and acts of the Western spokesmen. What are these positive facts? The first is the decisive

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change in the world balance in the present era. The end of the dreams of Western technical and nuclear superiority, and the belated official recognition of the now increasing 'gap' behind the more advanced socialist level, alike in the peaceful and strategic nuclear fields, has exploded all the castles in the air of the Pentagon and NATO strategists and thrown them into confusion. Britain's abandonment of Blue Streak is only one symptom of this confusion. At the same time the economic advance of the socialist world, alongside the admitted higher educational and cultural level, has brought in close prospect the era of absolute economic superiority in production and standards. This in turn exercises a powerful influence on the newly independent countries, who have similar problems of initial backwardness to overcome, and who are now able to get aid from the socialist countries free from the onerous terms, often involving military and strategic servitude, imposed by Western imperialism. The Second Afro-Asian Peoples' Solidarity Conference at Conakry in April, representing the majority of the world's population, further demonstrated how the balance of the world is changing.* The new outlook found expression in Walter Lippmann's article in January of this year (*New York Herald-Tribune,* January 22, 1960) on 'The Second Best World Power' stating that 'the days of our primacy, which were brief, are ending'. In these circumstances the old arrogant tone of dictation can no longer be maintained. Apart from the programme of the most reckless adventurists (Strauss, Pentagon extremists), no alternative is left at the present moment save to negotiate.

Crisis of Western Imperialism

The second positive factor, compelling a greater degree of caution than in the old heyday of NATO bombast, and the beginning of an approach, however reluctant, to negotiation, is the present stage of deepening crisis of Western imperialism. This deepening crisis is not incompatible with the very considerable measure of capitalist economic restoration and expansion during the recent period. On the contrary, the one flows from the other. The increasing contradictions show themselves in the acutely sharpening economic conflicts and rivalries of the imperialist powers struggling among themselves for the domination of outlets for their increased production: especially, the United States against Britain; West Germany and Japan against Britain; and the Six against the Seven. At the same time the deepening crisis has shown itself in the further speedy

*See page 285 for the text of the Conakry Declaration.

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advance of national liberation, especially throughout the continents of Africa and Latin America. A new feature in the recent period has been the beginning of the downfall of the fortresses of subsidised military and terrorist counter-revolutionary dictatorships maintained by Western imperialism as the foundation and strong points of its system of the 'free world'. Only a short time ago Nuri es Said and Batista have fallen. Now the fall of Syngman Rhee, the crisis of the regime of Verwoerd and Apartheid in South Africa, and the revolutionary upsurge in Turkey have shown that the principal bastions of Western imperialist reaction are no longer secure. The most experienced Western imperialist leaders, as notably the typical shrewd representative of the British governing class, Macmillan, are recognising the urgent necessity for temporising tactics.

Peoples' Pressure for Peace

The third positive factor is the overwhelming advance in all countries of the popular demand for peace, for an end of the menace of nuclear war, and for a relaxation of the cold war and international tension. In 1950 the Stockholm Appeal against atomic weapons won 482 million signatures. In 1952 the Appeal for a Five Power Peace Pact won 612 million signatures. In 1955 the Appeal against nuclear war and for a pledge from every Government against first using the H-bomb won 650 millon signatures. But in these earlier years many representatives of liberal and left opinion in the West, who have since entered into the campaign against nuclear weapons, still abstained, still basked in the illusion of Western nuclear invincibility, and even advocated the use of the atom bomb against the Soviet Union to compel surrender or gloatingly contemplated an American military occupation of Moscow, following atomic war, in the nineteen fifties. All this has changed also in the climate of Western discussion since the Sputnik finally exploded the dream of Western nuclear superiority and revealed that the boot was on the other foot. In 1957 the Sputnik revealed that the Soviet Union could deliver an intercontinental ballistic missile, while the West could not. In 1958 the Campaign for Nuclear Disarmament was launched, including by previous prominent advocates of atomic war. The most divers sections have joined in the growing movement. Aldermaston this year represented a demonstration unparalleled in scale in Britain since the war—some have said, since Chartism. On the other side of the world in Japan the popular demonstrations of the Hiroshima Committee and against nuclear armament and the U.S.-Kishi Treaty have been no less overwhelm-

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ing. No wonder Eisenhower, in his one unscripted aside in his television talk with Macmillan, had occasion to say that the demand of the peoples everywhere for peace was becoming so strong that it would be difficult for the statesmen to resist it.

If You Want Peace, Work for Peace

All these long-term positive factors on the side of the fight for peace need to be borne in mind, when we are faced with the obvious immediate difficulties and obstructions of the Summit Conference, the plentiful negative signs, the sceptical attitude of Western spokesmen, the provocative actions of powerful hostile circles in the West, the suspicion of every proposal for a settlement or a compromise as a trick, the obstinate clinging to nuclear weapons, resistance to disarmament and even speeding up of the arms race. There will be no easy solutions. The Soviet proposals for general and complete disarmament have met with the same absolute opposition as in 1927 from all the capitalist delegates to the Disarmament Conference, who have offered instead a grand 'plan' for inspection and control without any reduction of armaments at all in the first stage of unlimited duration. The Soviet reduction of armed forces by 1,200,000 at the beginning of this year, and the parallel very large-scale Chinese reduction, and cutting of armed forces in all the socialist countries have been met by the increase of the British arms budget by £115 million to the highest level since 1946-47, the stepping up of the U.S. arms budget to $45.5 billion or 57 per cent of the budget expenditure, the speeding up of West German re-armament with nuclear weapons, and the explosion of the French atom bombs. Soviet acceptance of the American proposal for a limited ban only on major tests and a voluntary moratorium on smaller-scale underground tests has been met by the U.S. Government's announcement of its intention to begin unilaterally the latter type of tests. The moral is plain. A very greatly increased intensity of the fight for peace is now essential if we are to surmount these obstructions and win serious negotiation and agreements on the banning of tests or the diminution of the menace from the powder keg of West Berlin and neo-nazi militarism, let alone the first steps to wider agreements for the banning of nuclear weapons and the reduction of armaments. It is in relation to this situation that the present battle in the Labour Party for a new defence and foreign policy opposed to nuclear weapons and nuclear strategy is of such vital international importance and has the most direct bearing on the tasks of the Summit Conference.

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3. *Nuclear Strategy and Nuclear Disarmament*

The crisis of Labour policy over Socialism and Clause 4 has now been followed by an even more far-reaching and immediately urgent crisis of Labour policy over the H-bomb and nuclear strategy. The end of Blue Streak was not only the ignominious and costly end of a whole era of British strategic policy, expressed in the series of Macmillan-Sandys Defence White Papers, which make pitiful reading today. It was also a symptom of the deepening bankruptcy of the whole NATO nuclear strategy, and also of the U.S. Strategic Air Command nuclear strategy. Realisation of this is essential for understanding the present stage of the question. That this realisation is still not general in the current discussion was revealed by Mr. Gaitskell's presentation of his supposed four alternatives.

H-Bomb Dreamland

Most of the dyed-in-the-wool (and woolly) adherents and worshippers of the H-bomb are still consoling themselves with the complacent consolation that all that is involved is a slight transference of allegiance in continuing the worship of the same Moloch. The programme for a so-called 'independent' British H-bomb delivery missile to replace the obsolete bombers has had to be abandoned. It is true that these advocates previously swore with their hands on their hearts that such an 'independent deterrent' was indispensable for Britain's survival as a great power and to prevent dependence on the United States (always a curious argument from these enthusiastic advocates of the American bases and military occupation of Britain). Now these old arguments have to be swallowed with the best face that can be put on it, under cover of plentiful abuse of the Government for letting the side down. The abuse of the Government can always be counted on to win a cheer from the groundlings to conceal the somersault, and even to win applause from some of the more innocent on the left as a miraculous 'conversion' and new triumph of 'unity' on the question of nuclear weapons. But the battle is not so easily won, and the innocent applauders have had reason to be undeceived.

New Bolt Holes

Under cover of this abuse of the Government for its miscalculation, resulting in abandonment of the programme for Britain's

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'independent' use of the H-bomb, the attempt is being made to continue the same basic policy in new forms. New bolt holes are being hastily elaborated by the worshippers of the H-bomb to carry forward the nuclear strategy in alternative forms. One group advocates a NATO H-bomb to unite Britain with the neo-Nazis and militarists of West Germany in the construction and use of nuclear weapons and missiles. The Sandys-Strauss conversations appear to indicate that such a policy is in fact already being pursued by the Tory Government, at the same time as formally proclaiming continuance of the 'independent' programme. Another group advocates the familiar Liberal Party programme, that the British people should remain 'under the American umbrella', i.e. under the 'protection' of the American H-bomb, while boldly abandoning the British H-bomb as too expensive to maintain, and thereby courageously 'giving the decisive lead' to the world for 'nuclear disarmament' (*Daily Herald* editorial of April 29, a magnificent marvel of outspoken confusion to please all sections of readers).

Rip Van Winkles

Unfortunately for these wishful thinkers, their new bolt holes will offer them no escape. At best they will only prolong the agony a little further until the same basic question has to be faced. The same difficulties which have beset Blue Streak would beset equally the hypothetical NATO H-bomb. In vain the calculation is switched from the Thors and Blue Streak to a non-existent Skybolt and Polaris. When will Skybolt be ready? 'I think it's 1964, but I can't be categorical about that' answered U.S. Air Force Chief of Staff, General White, on May 4, and added that distribution would in any case be first for the United States and only later for Europe. And meanwhile? What about the 'indispensable deterrent' meanwhile? But already the experts have thrown doubt upon the effective functioning of either Skybolt (medium range only from vulnerable bombers) or Polaris (also medium range from vulnerable submarines) in the new conditions. As for the 'American umbrella' under which these Rip Van Winkles think they can nestle, they appear to have remained blissfully unaware of the raging controversy in American strategic and official quarters over the 'missile gap', consequent on Soviet rocket superiority leaving the United States vulnerable without effective means of reply. No wonder the intelligent rank and file in the trade union and labour organisations are trying to awaken these Rip Van Winkle leaders to the modern facts of nuclear life.

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Nuclear Strategy, Stage I: Dreams of Atomic Monopoly

What is the modern Western nuclear strategy? The official answers today would show a rich diversity of contradictions, consistent only in the obsession to hang on to the nuclear weapon at all costs. Once the line was simple. The Anglo-American atom bomb monopoly was the saviour of civilisation, keeping off the Russian hordes, ensuring Anglo-American enlightened domination of the world, and preparing a suitable Fulton 'showdown' to compel the Russians and communists to toe the line. This was the simple understandable strategy of the days of Bevin and Attlee and the welcome to the American bombers. But that monopoly vanished over a decade ago. The wild and whirling words of those days are long forgotten, and would scarcely be believed by the young today.

Stage II: The H-bomb and the Theory of the Deterrent

By the time of the advance from the atomic to the thermonuclear era the Soviet Union was already in front, in 1953, with the first thermonuclear device exploded in the air (Eniwetok in 1952 had been only a cumbersome affair on the ground). The United States was a lap behind, with the first H-bomb in 1954; Britain only by 1955 had reached the decision to construct its own H-bomb. The theory of Western monopoly and supremacy was thus dead. A new theory had to be constructed. This was the theory of the 'H-bomb Deterrent'. Since both sides had the H-bomb, it now had to be admitted that its use would involve mutual universal destruction. Gone were the halycon days of the dreams of 'push-button warfare' to 'teach the Reds a lesson' with the new 'big bomb' delivered from the security of safe Western European bases. The new theory was announced that, though the use of the H-bomb would inevitably result in the destruction of Britain, the threat to use it would 'deter' the Russians from attempting aggression and thus save Britain. The bee would perish if it used its sting; but the threat to use its sting would save the bee. So was evolved the theory of the 'atomic stalemate', the 'deterrent' and 'peace through mutual terror'. This is the theory which further scientific and technological development has now laid low in ruins.

Stage III: The Missile and the Death of the Deterrent Theory

The theory of the 'deterrent' is now in fact dead, although the corpse refuses to lie down, since there are too many interests involved in propping up the fiction. From the moment of the Sputnik

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in 1957 it was clear that long range Soviet missiles could destroy every base, not only in Britain and Western Europe, but also in the United States, and that the West had no long range missiles with which to reply, but only intermediate range missiles from vulnerable bases in Europe and the Middle East. The day of the H-bomb-loaded bomber was over. For a time the West sought to keep up its spirits with the decision to construct intermediate range missiles from fixed sites above ground (Thors) or below ground (Blue Streak), and even imagined, according to the naïve Macmillan-Sandys theory, that concentration on the rocket would make it possible to cut down all other arms expenditure. The consoling suggestion was further offered that it would be impossible for the Soviet Union to dispatch its long range missiles to hit targets thousands of miles away with sufficient accuracy. The moon rocket encircling or touching the moon in 1959, and the dispatch of the two rockets 8,000 miles across the earth to the precise pre-calculated spot in the Pacific in January, 1960, shattered these illusions for all time. From this moment it was clear that no static base could be maintained. The Pacific demonstration was in January, 1960. In April Blue Streak was abandoned. The rocket on May Day bringing down the U.S. espionage jet plane twelve miles above the Soviet Union with such accuracy as to wing the plane, while saving the pilot and equipment, completed the destruction of the myth (still stoutly maintained by poor Mr. Watkinson as the next victim in Mr. Sandys' shoes) of the supposed continued efficacy of the H-bomb-loaded bombers 'till 1965'.

What Now, Little Man?

So what has happened to the grand theory of the 'nuclear deterrent'? Perhaps the four minutes 'Early Warning' system at Fylingdale (while the bombers require fifteen minutes to get aloft) will save it? Anyway that will not be built 'for two or three years'. Within three years from now, the U.S. Assistant Secretary of Defence Mr. Gates has assured us, the United States will have overtaken 'the missile gap' (always assuming that the other fellow remains stationary, and that the gap will not have been further increased), and will also have effective long range missiles in operation. And meanwhile? What happens during the years between? During the years while the 'indispensable Early Warning', without which the West, we are informed, would be defenceless before Soviet aggression, does not exist? During the years while the 'indispensable nuclear deterrent' from mobile launchers (whether airborne or

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seaborne), without which the West, we are assured, would be defenceless before Soviet aggression, is still a hypothesis on a drawing board? During the years while the Soviet Union, if it were bent on aggression, could wipe out the whole array of Western bases and bombers at a stroke before there could be any question of retaliation? No one is disturbed. The Western politicians and generals, who terrorise their audiences into coughing up billions against the menace of Soviet aggression, sleep soundly in their beds. No general in the Pentagon jumps out of his window any longer like Forrestal. In the days of Western atomic superiority there was daily panic. Now with Soviet nuclear superiority there is no longer any panic. Why? Because by their deeds all these politicians and generals show that in reality they have not the slightest belief in any menace of Soviet aggression. All the talk about the 'nuclear deterrent' and 'defence' is poppycock for half-wits. Why then cling to the nuclear weapon since it can manifestly fulfil no function for defence? Precisely because it is *not* for defence. Here we come closer to the real Western theory of the nuclear weapon, which has nothing to do with the poppycock about 'the deterrent' and 'defence'.

Stage IV: Current Western Nuclear Strategy: Strike First

The current Western nuclear strategy was in fact always the real strategy planned, and indeed from time to time proclaimed in NATO documents and Defence White Papers, for the use of the atom bomb and the H-bomb as essentially a weapon of *aggression,* not defence, *i.e.,* that the West should strike first. But previously this was camouflaged inside the hypocritical wrapping of 'the deterrent'. Now the wrapping has come apart, since it is no longer strategically tenable to present the imaginary picture of its use for retaliation *after* a supposed aggression. Now the official orthodoxy of the NATO and U.S. war planners is that the only answer to the 'missile gap' is that the West must let loose its nuclear weapons *before* any aggression from the Soviet side.

> We should maintain our armed forces in such a way and with such an understanding that, should it ever become obvious that an attack upon us or our allies is imminent, we can launch an attack before the aggressor has hit either us or our allies... Presumably the U.S. attack might have to be delivered without benefit of congressional declaration of war.
>
> U.S. House of Representatives Defence Sub-Committee Chairman, G. H. Mahon, May, 1960, *Time* 9.5.60.)

This is the familiar Hitlerite theory of aggressive war to 'forestall' a supposed 'imminent' attack by the other side. In the bad old

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days it used to be called frankly aggression. In the Fulton days it came to be more euphemistically called a 'preventive war'. Now in the current NATO and Pentagon jargon, to suit the more squeamish latter-day tastes it is called 'a pre-emptive war'.

Paths to Nuclear War

But surely, the intelligent reader will very reasonably query, the United States Government will not deliberately wish to let loose a nuclear war on the Soviet Union, knowing that such a war would mean its own destruction, any more than the Soviet Union wishes to let loose a nuclear war on the United States. Correct. A conscious decision of this nature would be perhaps the least likely hypothesis for the outbreak of a major nuclear war, short of the not impossible 'wild' action of an extremist section of the Strategic Command taking the initiative into their own hands, since civilian control of the military is very weak in the United States. But there are many other openings. The avowed 'brinkmanship' policy of the United States can always lead over the brink. Or take another example, the West German general staff has the blueprints all ready, once they have completed equipment with nuclear weapons, for a blitzkrieg occupation of the German Democratic Republic in a few hours, on the basis of a typical Hitlerite gambling calculation that they might get away with it because it would be presented for propoganda as a national uprising of the German people, the United States would disclaim responsibility but approve the result, and the Soviet Union, as they hope, would be unwilling to see a global nuclear war result. A typical firebrand's gamble; but so was every initial step of Hitler.

Britain's Real Danger

Or the U.S. high command might decide that a particular situation in Europe or the Middle East might be met by a limited action with nuclear weapons from the bases in Britain, Spain or Turkey, without exposing the territory of the United States, again on the typical calculation that the two giants would not wish to enter on the incalculable hazard of full-scale direct conflict, and that therefore only secondary countries would bear the brunt. So long as nuclear weapons are maintained, so long as the Soviet demand for their absolute banning and destruction is resisted and voted down by Britain and the United States, there are a hundred forms, and daily increasing, in which nuclear war may arise and spread. Only

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one thing is certain. In any nuclear war, whatever the form, whatever the origin, so long as Britain is the main American nuclear launching site, so long as Britain is tied to the NATO nuclear strategy, Britain will necessarily be the main target and the main victim, marked out for destruction. The H-bomb and the NATO nuclear strategy, so far from representing the 'defence' of Britain, are the main menace to Britain's existence. Gaitskell, Brown, Strachey and the other devotees of the H-bomb, who present themselves as the representatives of the 'defence' of Britain, are the enemies of Britain's defence.

A Practical Policy for Peace

Is the alternative, as these advocates pretend, 'pacifism' in the sense of defenceless isolation, non-resistance, helplessness before an aggressor? Rubbish. Liberation of Britain from the American nuclear bases, the H-bombs and the NATO nuclear strategy is not a heroic gesture to 'lead the world' for nuclear disarmament (this would be hypocrisy though such an action can help to promote the wider aim), but only a practical indispensable first step for the better defence of Britain by removing the biggest immediate danger. A positive policy for peace and international disarmament must accompany this. The first opening towards this is represented by the opportunity of the Summit Conference and after. British Labour once advocated a positive policy for peace, expressed by none more ably than the late Arthur Henderson, but now forgotten. That policy was collective security. It has been abandoned in favour of the opposite policy of sectional war alliances, represented by NATO, and the balance of power and the arms race, whose outcome has always proved fatal. It is time to change this. The new current running through the trade union, labour and co-operative conferences could lead the way towards a new positive policy. A framework for collective security was provided through the United Nations, on the indispensable basis of the co-operation of the leading Powers. The establishment of the American military alliance system and NATO was a flagrant violation of the United Nations Charter, and the present grave world situation is the result. It is time to return to the co-operation of the Powers, to peaceful co-existence. Britain is not powerless. British-Soviet co-operation could lead the way in restoring co-operation of the Powers and the effective working of the United Nations, including the representation of China; and could rally the nations of the world for the ban on

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all nuclear weapons, the drastic reduction of armaments and peaceful East-West settlements. It is the greatest opportunity for British Labour, if only the deadly grip of the H-bomb fanatics can be overcome, to lead the way in the fight for such a policy for Britain, which would represent equally the true interests of the British people and of world peace.

May 12, 1960. R.P.D.

A BLACK TERCENTENARY

While the B.B.C. is assiduously celebrating the 300-year old restoration of King Charles II and out-doing the newspaper press in its sycophancy to monarchy, the voice of John Milton should once more be heard. Early in the year 1660 the great poet sought in his *Ready and Easy Way to Establish a Free Commonwealth* to persuade his fellow countrymen against the restoration—'a strange, desperate contagion suddenly spread among us, fitted and prepared for new slavery'. Here are some of his words:

> ... If we return to kingship, and soon repent .. we may be forced perhaps to fight over again all that we have fought, and spend over again all that we have spent, but are never likely to attain thus far as we are now advanced to the recovery of our freedom, never to have it in possession as we now have it, never to be vouchsafed hereafter the like mercies and signal assistances from Heaven in our cause, if by our ingrateful backsliding we make these fruitless ... making vain and viler than dirt the blood of so many thousand faithful and valiant Englishmen, who left us in this liberty, bought with their lives; losing by a strange aftergame of folly all the battles we have won...

Later in the same pamphlet John Milton warns the people of all lands and not least his own countrymen:

> But admit that monarchy itself may be convenient for to some nations: yet to us who have thrown it out, received back again, it cannot but prove pernicious. For kings to come, never forgetting their former ejection, will be sure to fortify and arm themselves sufficiently for the future against all such attempts hereafter from the people; who shall then be so narrowly watched and kept so low, that though they would never so fain, and at the same rate of their blood and treasure, they shall never be able to regain what they have now purchased and may enjoy, or to free themselves from any yoke imposed upon them. Nor will they dare to go about it; utterly disheartened for the future, if these their highest attempts prove unsuccessful; which will be the triumph of all tyrants hereafter over any people that shall resist oppression; and their song will then be, to others, 'How sped the rebellious English?' To our posterity, 'How sped the rebels, your fathers?'

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MEN OF METAL ON THE MOVE

'Vulcan'

[*The Annual Meeting this month of the Confederation of Shipbuilding and Engineering Unions at Llandudno, and of other conferences of unions in the 'metal industry', not least that of the Electrical Trades Union at Hastings, give special interest to this article by our Industrial Staff Correspondent.—Ed.*, L.M.]

FOR two whole weeks—April 25 to May 6—the National Committee (annual national conference) of the Amalgamated Engineering Union was in session. Here fifty-two men delegates and seven women, all working in the factories, have been grappling with the many resolutions sent in by every area and district in the British Isles. Matters of fundamental importance, national, domestic, political and economic affecting the present and the future have been vigorously debated.

This Annual Parliament of the rank and file is possibly the most important gathering of its like held in this country. It represents over a million organised workers, skilled and unskilled men, women and youth. The union will have the dominating vote at the forthcoming annual meeting of the Confederation of Shipbuilding and Engineering Unions. It plays no small part in the final decisions of the Trades Union Congress and the Labour Party. Its influence seen and unseen, has a terrific effect on the broad Labour movement, and by virtue of that fact, it has an important role in the social life of the people at home and abroad. No small wonder then, that the ruling class watches with bated breath the daily business of this conference. Before, during and after the conference, the scribes of the newspaper press report and write their versions and interpretations of the decisions reached. In saying all this, we in no way, implied or otherwise, cast any reflection on any other union conference. But not to see and not to fully appreciate the importance of the A.E.U. would be a bad political blunder.

Such a conference calls for the greatest unity between the leaders and the rank and file; but alas! as every day went by, the gap between the platform and the delegates became wider and wider. It is obvious that the President, Mr. W. Carron was completely out of accord with the delegates. His wild incoherent outburst against shop stewards, his horrible, almost illiterate epithets hurled

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at the heads of the active militant members,* so incensed the conference that a large minority vote was recorded against his presidential speech being printed as a record of the meeting. This demonstration surely must be without precedent in the whole annals of history in the trade union movement. The delegates went even further in their disapproval of him when later on in the conference they decided to give a £2 a week rise to over 150 of the district full time officials, but not one penny to the President, General Secretary and Executive Council. There is no parallel to this in the existence of the union. Did the delegates mark this down as an appreciation of services rendered to the membership? It seems so.

Similarly, Mr. J. Boyd of the Executive Council, who is also a member of the Executive Committee of the national Labour Party, when speaking against a resolution demanding unilateral nuclear disarmament, proudly stated, according to the *Daily Telegraph*, that he was 'honoured to speak for six sevenths of the Executive Council.' He found himself and the E.C. defeated by a unanimous resolution completely in conflict with the platform and the leadership of the Labour Party. This was the crowning example of how this leadership is far out of accord and out of step with the aspirations and desires of the membership. A unanimous decision for a forward policy against a leadership, whose six sevenths were firmly on the other side of this fence. Mr. Boyd and the Executive Council again found themselves in this unenviable position when the debate closed on Nationalisation and Clause 4 of the Labour Party's constitution. The fact that the delegates rebuffed Mr. Gaitskell in refusing to invite him to the conference is of small importance. What is important is that the delegates unanimously decided in favour of a programme of nationalisation and for the retention of Clause 4.

The gap between the platform and the membership grows wider. The delegates wanted no truck with Mr. Boyd's line on redundancy. He appealed to the delegates to withdraw a resolution from Tyneside protesting at an E.C. instruction to the district committee to allow overtime after eighty workers had been paid off at one firm. Mr. Cellini a delegate from Tyneside said. 'Of course we will not withdraw it. You will have no Tyneside district committee if the resolution is not carried'. The resolution was unanimously

*'These were werewolves who are rushing madly towards industrial ruin and howling delightedly at the foam upon their muzzles which they accept as the guiding light.' Phrases such as these may in future be called Carronades.

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adopted barring overtime working where there is redundancy. It would appear that Mr. Boyd and Mr. Carron are the champion losing speakers and advocates for the E.C. Even on a relatively simple issue of claiming a new status for engineering workers the resolution was carried despite the President Mr. Carron.

The conference expressed itself in no uncertain way how it felt about wages, hours, etc. It unanimously backed demands for a £1 a week increase without any strings and dated from the time of application, for a forty hour week and a further week's holiday with pay. This in itself was an expression of the deep sense of dissatisfaction amongst the membership of the recent settlement of 42 hours a week with no wages increase.

This gives purpose and backbone to the resolution of a general character which the E.C. of the Confederation of Shipbuilding and Engineering Unions has decided to put to its annual meeting in June; it will no doubt be adopted and become the policy of the forty unions constituting the Confederation.

So the National Committee comes forward, true to its traditions, as a progressive leadership of its members, marking out so to speak, a forward policy and programme for the million members to advocate and fight for in the months ahead. It was meeting at the time when the militancy of the apprentices and youth was at its height in the national stoppage of work embarked upon with so much enthusiasm and determination to bring right out in front of the public's eye the shocking low wages paid to them.

Militancy and organisation has always been the keynote amongst the youth in engineering. Three times in twenty years the youth have engaged in a national stoppage to secure increases in their wage standards—three distinct generations of youth. There is nothing wrong in the youth of today. The traditions and fighting spirit of their predecessors is as strong or even stronger. With this spirit and determination at the bottom, the struggle of trade unionism can never die and never change in its fundamentals. The pity is that the leadership is—of its own volition—right out of step with its membership. It brings into sharp relief the question of what is leadership in democratic organisations? We may return to this theme in a future publication.

Meantime, the working class, at home and abroad have before them a progressive policy on wages, working conditions and social issues, around which a mighty mobilisation can take place bringing forward more and more forces in the march toward Socialism.

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'WHAT'S THIS ABOUT KOREA?'

D. N. Pritt, Q.C.

YOU ask me, John, what is at the back of this story about Korea, students and others rioting, the 85 year-old dictator suddenly clearing out, the faked elections being admitted to be faked, a new democratic system proposed, and so on.

To me it is most revealing; but of course when the Korean war broke out in 1950 you were still at school, like hundreds of thousands of other participants in the struggle for peace and in the political and industrial struggles generally. So you want to know. And it is most important that you should know, for the Korean war is even fuller of lessons for all of us than the Spanish war was a few school generations ago.

The obvious lessons of course cover the abominable horrors of war, and the particularly abominable barbarities* practised in the Korean war by the supposedly civilised and cultured rulers of the U.S.A.—barbarities only partly explained by the literally *inhuman* outlook of those who think of human beings whose skin is different in colour from theirs as less than human. The lessons include, too, a belated but important demonstration to the mass of innocent people who are classed as 'non-political'—that is, who in their simplicity believe what they read in the capitalist press—that the socialist and progressive forces of the world have been right all the time in their version of the events which led to the terrible Korean war, of that war itself, and of the subsequent developments under the long and uneasy armistice that followed.

Well, John, let me begin by telling you the hard facts of Korea's recent history.

We can start in 1945, with the knowledge that the thirty-odd million Korean people, who had often been conquered and colonised, were then a Japanese colony. In August 1945, the Soviet forces came down into Korea from the north, and drove the Japanese out. The Koreans—all of them, throughout undivided Korea—immediately set up local people's committees as a start towards establishing a new independent Korean state. As early as September 6, a Congress of these committees was held in Seoul, the capital, and it looked as if the new state would soon be established. But unfortunately, two days later, the U.S.A., horrified at the idea of any

*Amongst these barbarities was the use for the first time of *NAPALM*, an inflammable jelly which burned alive children or anyone else on whom it was cast from an aeroplane. This was much worse than the use of soft-nosed or *dum-dum* bullets which were at one time forbidden. But, as will be seen later, even more horrible devices were used by the rulers of the United States.

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country achieving independence with the help of the U.S.S.R. and thus depriving the capitalist world of a profitable field of investment, and of a war base against the Soviet Union, landed troops in Korea from the south, and pushed up to the now famous 38th parallel, an arbitrary line running across the country north of Seoul, and having no more relation to ethnic, industrial, economic, or any other considerations than a straight line from Cardigan to Lowestoft would have in the United Kingdom.

It soon became clear that the Americans had no intention of leaving, and the two divided portions of the country remained divided, with each half trying to develop separately. In the north, the people continued to govern themselves, as they are still doing; their lands were divided among the peasants; the main industries were nationalised and greatly developed; and the country began to prosper. (And today, again, after the appalling and systematic destruction of life and property carried out by the Americans during the years of the war, an unexampled recovery has been achieved, and the country is already prospering again). In the south, the Americans dissolved the people's committees, protected the landlords, money-lenders and factory owners, and brought over in October 1945 a Korean emigré called Li Sing Man (or Syngman Rhee) who had been living in the U.S.A. for no less than forty years, to act as their puppet president.

South Korea never prospered; it was subsidised by the Americans, who invested heavily in its industries; it was ruled dictatorially, with certain democratic semblances, by Syngman Rhee; his government was from the start corrupt, inefficient, oppressive, and unpopular. Even the odd body called UNCOK (United Nations Commission on Korea) with a packed membership drawn exclusively from anti-Soviet and anti-Communist countries, reported officially in August 1949, that press freedom was virtually non-existent, and that in the eight months ending in April 1949, 89,710 people had been arrested under the 'National Peace Protection Act'; and it is interesting that in August 1948, when there was a general election in North Korea, the people in the South, in spite of Syngman Rhee and the Americans took part in the election, the actual percentage voting in the South being 77 per cent.

Early in 1948 the U.S.S.R. suggested a simultaneous withdrawal of Soviet and American troops; the latter refused, and in the following December the Soviet forces withdrew unilaterally. Six months later, the Americans did withdraw the bulk of their forces (because according to the London *Observer*, their Defence Department

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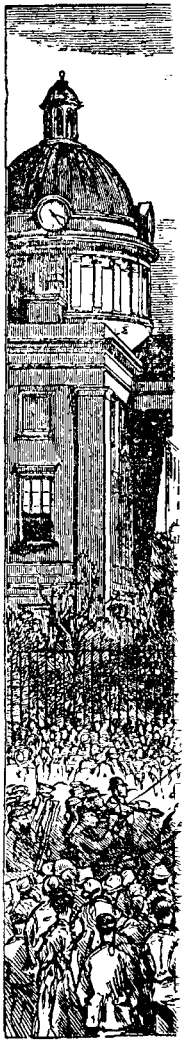
The Manchester Trades in 1874

A Demonstration to demand the legal right to picket



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regarded Korea as 'indefensible in a general war', a revealing glimpse of the reasons for the presence of the troops, and of the aims of American policy generally).

The Americans, whilst 'withdrawing', left enough troops to train and control the South Korean army, which they proceeded to arm and equip, and to build up into a large force. And, from say June 1949 to June 1950, the history of South Korea, as it can be gathered from American and South Korean sources, (carefully concealed from Western readers from the time the war began), is as follows.

Syngman Rhee and his ministers were openly shouting for war against North Korea as—according to them—the only suitable way of re-uniting the country, and were condemning as Communists all who favoured negotiation (an exact parallel to another American puppet of the same advanced age as Rhee, Adenauer, who calls for war against the German Democratic Republic, to unite it by way of 'liberation'). And they carried out scores of military raids across the parallel against the North Korean forces. Opposition by South Koreans to this murderous policy was met by such steps as the prosecution of thirteen members of the National Assembly, who were sentenced on March 14, 1950 to terms of imprisonment varying from 18 months to 10 years for various 'crimes', which expressly included 'opposing the invasion of North Korea by the South Korean forces'. (But Rhee was faced at this period by a general election, held on May 30, 1950, in which 128 of the 210 seats were won by anti-Rhee candidates, and only 45 by definite supporters of Rhee. It was high time for the war diversion, which came within a month).

The Americans, whilst continuing to arm and train the South Korean forces, and to boast of them as 'a fine watchdog over investments placed in this country', and 'a living demonstration of how an intelligent and intensive investment of five hundred combat-hardened American officers and men can train 100,000 men *who will do the shooting for you*' (my italics), were until the end of the period restraining them from actually launching a serious attack on the North (as opposed to raids) by the simple process of keeping them short of ammunition until the Americans might judge the right moment had come.

Then, on June 25, 1950, with the direct approval, uttered on the spot, of John Foster Dulles, the rulers of South Korea were given their heads (and their ammunition) and started the war. Dulles, who was later Secretary of State under the Republican government, was at that time, under the rule of the Democratic President

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Truman, merely attached as 'adviser' (an idea which Attlee missed; he never thought of attaching Eden to Bevin); and he told the National Assembly on June 19: 'The eyes of the free world are upon you. Compromise with Communism'—*i.e.*, the peaceful reunion of the whole of Korea under one government by way of negotiation, which was then under discussion—'would be a road leading to disaster'. And he assured his audience of the 'readiness of the U.S.A. to give all necessary moral and material support to South Korea, which is fighting against Communism'.

The evidence against Rhee and the Americans on this crucial question as to who started the war, which was so successfully suppressed in the Western organs of 'information' that it has now become almost an article of faith in the West to assume that the war was started by the North Koreans, was and is in truth virtually overwhelming. It is mostly to be found in American and South Korean sources, and would take many pages to state. I will content myself with one or two small but vivid items; the first is that, within a few hours of the actual start of the war, the well-known journalist and author, John Gunther, then on a journey in Japan with what were described as 'two important members of the occupation'—the American occupiers of Japan—was told by one of the occupants that he had just had a telephone call to the effect that 'a big story has just broken; the South Koreans have attacked North Korea'. (This was later explained as a 'mistake'!) The second item was that, some years later, the Rhee Ambassador in the U.S.A., in a discussion on the radio in New York said: 'That's why we started the war', and when asked for an explanation by someone who thought that the North Koreans had started the war, gave a somewhat laboured explanation which did not detract in the least from his assertion that it was indeed South Korea that had started it.

The next important matter is as to how the United Nations was brought into the war. Within eight hours of the first news of the war reaching Washington, the members of the Security Council who were available were called from their beds, at 3 a.m. By 3 p.m. twelve hours later (still on June 25) the Security Council had met and had pretended to pass a resolution condemning 'the invasion of the Republic of Korea'—*i.e.*, South Korea—'by armed forces from North Korea'. One defect of this resolution was that it was wholly invalid under the Constitution of the United Nations, for such a resolution cannot be passed unless all five permanent members of the Council actually concur, and the U.S.S.R. representative was not present. But its invalidity was in a way not as bad as its utter lack

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of any moral or material foundation; for there was no evidence of any such invasion before the Security Council. Every possible effort was made, both at the time and later, to conceal the fact that there was no evidence, not only from the public but even from the members of the Security Council itself! But it is truth quite clear that all that was then known in the U.S.A. in the way of evidence against North Korea was that the South Korean government had asserted that the war had been started by North Korea, and that the North Korean government said the exact opposite; UNCOK, already mentioned, with the advantage of being on the spot and having a complete anti-Soviet membership, did not venture to make for itself any assertion whatever as to what the facts were, and merely contented itself with saying that the South Koreans had asserted it! And of course, the notion that the Security Council should invite the accused North Koreans to give their version before they were condemned was dismissed as old-fashioned nonsense.

The Security Council, two days later, equipped with the same massive ignorance, pretended to pass another (equally invalid) resolution recommending members of the UNO to give military aid to South Korea. The U.S.A. no doubt intelligently anticipating this recommendation, had decided two days earlier to take part.

Thus UNO, which had been established to represent the common aspirations of all parts of the world, in whatever camp they might lie, sanctioned without evidence, without enquiry, without any regard for its own validity, and without any sense of responsibility, a war which was to be carried on in effect by the U.S.A. on behalf of, but in no way controlled by UNO; and that war was destined to bring about the deaths, under circumstances of barbarity unparalleled in history—with the doubtful exception of Hitler—of hundreds of thousands of men, women and children, to destroy physically most of a large country, and to create a situation in which only the intelligence and cool-headedness of the U.S.S.R. and the Chinese People's Republic prevented a third world war from starting. (It is only a sort of subsidiary feature that the Americans, seizing the opportunity to experiment on 'Reds', like Hitler and Mussolini experimented with bombing in Spain, tried out the effects of germ-warfare—*i.e.*, of the distribution among the civil population of the bacilli of many deadly and epidemic diseases.)

I could go on and on, John, telling you about this hideous Korean war in all its many phases; but I must not write too much.

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The war, after many ups and downs, and after the Chinese were forced into it by the Americans, came to its active end in an armistice which took months to negotiate and has since continued an uneasy existence for years. After the armistice, the two halves of Korea proceeded to rebuild their territories. The North has already magnificently restored its prosperity; the South, under American guidance, has continued its old corrupt and oppressive inefficiency; and this has at last so enraged the population that, in spite of police brutality and shooting that would make even Dr. Verwoerd take breath for a moment, the hopelessness of the Rhee set-up has become so clear that he has abdicated, and a somewhat better constitution is, we are told, to be introduced. The immediate hope is for a beginning of a re-unity of Korea; and the immediate fear is that the Americans, using the old battle-cry that every progressive move must be rejected as Communist, will attempt to fake up some kind of new facade to help it to retain its dominion over South Korea for the purposes of its cold war policy.

That's the position at the moment. We'll wait to see what new problems—and lessons—South Korea brings us. Those it has brought us already are rich enough. One particular one is that distortion, suppression and direct lying have now been carried to such lengths by 'Western civilisation' that, on many vital issues besides Korea generally and germ warfare in Korea in particular, the readers of the capitalist press often accept as unquestionable facts the exact opposite of the truth, even when it involves such obvious nonsense as the story that Chiang Kai-Shek represents the 700 million people of China. And another is that more damage has been caused to human well-being, and more wars and dangers of war created, in the last half-century by anti-Communist and anti-Socialist campaigns than by any previous rascality of the Western ruling-classes.

You can work out the lessons for yourself, John; but don't forget two basic ones; one, that the capitalist racket is doomed, the only doubts and the only anxieties being as to how long it will take to die, and whether the present rulers will set fire to the whole world before they collapse; and two, that we must all work hard to make sure that the doom shall not tarry too long, and that the fire shall not be started.

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MORE MEMORIES OF LENIN

Nadezhda Krupskaya

(These recollections of Lenin—Vladimir Ilyich Ulyanov—were included by his widow, Nadezhda Krupskaya, in a speech on November 11, 1934 at a meeting of students and teachers of the Communist University of Workers of the East (Moscow). They were published for the first time by Izvestia *on January 20, 1960, from the text corrected by Krupskaya herself. On the occasion of the 90th anniversary of Lenin's birth we are pleased to publish them for the first time in English, abridged, especially translated by Andrew Rothstein.—Ed.,* L.M.)

IN 1894 Lenin published illegally his little book *What Are the 'Friends of the People'?** in which he wrote about the future of the Russian proletariat moving jointly with the proletariat of other countries, by open political struggle along the road to a Communist revolution in which it would lead all the working people. . . Lenin's book was of tremendous importance at that time. But that question of a Communist revolution was something so remote for us then that we did not take much notice of it. The working class of Russia at that time was still extremely weak. The Labour movement was only just beginning. There were only scattered small groups of revolutionary Marxists who understood that the class struggle was necessary. What occupied our attention at that time was how to organise the first steps in that class struggle, how to raise the class consciousness of the workers, and very few even thought about a Communist revolution. But Lenin even at that distant date constantly had the objective in mind.

(After referring to the 1905 Revolution ten years later, when 'our forces were still very small', and the tremendous part that experience played in preparing the way for the 1917 October Revolution, Krupskaya speaks of the years of exile which followed. These are omitted, being fully described in her 'Memories of Lenin', *of which a new English edition entitled* 'Reminiscences of Lenin' *has just been published by Lawrence & Wishart (1960, 8s. 6d.). Her speech continues with an account of how Lenin and she heard in Switzerland the news of the overthrow of the Tsar by the bourgeois revolution of February 27 (Old Style), which is March 12, 1917 of our calendar.)*

*A translation, under a slightly different title, is printed in Lenin, *Selected Works* (1950), vol I, part I.

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It was in Zurich, in January 1917, that there was a meeting of the youth, young people of various countries. Speaking at that meeting Lenin said: 'Now is the time when the moment is approaching that there will be a Socialist revolution in a number of countries, and when the proletariat will take power into its hands. But it is difficult to say exactly when that will be'. And he added rather sadly: 'I don't know whether we old ones will live to that time'.*

That was in January, and in February came the first revolution. I remember how we learned about the February Revolution. We had just had dinner. I was washing up. Then we were intending to go to the library. Suddenly a Polish comrade walks in and says: 'What are you sitting here for? There's a revolution in Russia!' Well, of course we forgot everything else and rushed to the lakeside, where all kinds of news telegrams were hung out under an awning. We read them. It certainly was the revolution. Of course it was still a bourgeois revolution. The Tsar had been overthrown, but the power of the landlords and the capitalists still remained. And so Vladimir Ilyich then wrote to the comrades: 'We must now go among the masses in a bigger way, awaken their consciousness, point out that they cannot stop at this, but must carry the struggle further'. . . .

(For many weeks Lenin and Krupskaya tried to get back to Russia, where the Provisional Government was in power, consisting of members chosen (indirectly) by the old unrepresentative Tsarist Duma. Side by side with it was the Council (Soviet) of Workers' and Soldiers' Deputies, elected in the factories and units of the armed forces. At last they succeeded in reaching Russia and were met by comrades at Belo-Ostrov.).

Talking with them, Vladimir Ilyich asked: 'What do you expect, will we be arrested or not?' No one answered him; they only smiled. And then when we arrived in Petersburg Ilyich saw that the new arrivals were being met by the revolutionary troops; there was a guard of honour; the whole square was flooded with people. That was the moment when Ilyich felt that his dearest wish about a social revolution was close to fulfilment. They put him on a lorry and, addressing himself to the masses, he said: 'Long live the Socialist revolution!'

*The full text of this lecture is available in English in the 'Little Lenin Library', *The Revolution of 1905*.

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Now from that moment began the preparation for October.* Lenin studied very attentively what was going on around us. He was listening to what the masses were saying. For that was a time when day and night, in the streets every kind of question was being discussed—the question of the war, the question of revolution. We went to stay with our relatives, Lenin's elder sister. When you opened your window at night and looked out, you would see a soldier sitting in the street and round him workmen, maids, the servants of the house opposite, young people of some kind or other, and all hotly discussing the questions: What are the Soviets? what's it all leading to? will the revolution go further or not? what about the war, should it go on? and so forth. This was what the masses were living through. It was a time of revolutionary upsurge of the masses. But Lenin noted then that the masses yet did not understand that they ought to seize power. And when three weeks later the Party Conference assembled, Lenin said that the main task now was to carry on a work of explanation. He said that it was essential to make the widest possible use of this revolutionary mass upsurge to get them to understand what the Bolsheviks were fighting for and to make it clear that the Bolsheviks were fighting for peace. This slogan—the struggle for peace—was one which united all working people. It brought the village in as well, because after all the soldiers were chiefly from the countryside. And these soldiers who filled all the streets of Petrograd were warmly in favour of peace being concluded. But, Lenin said, we must explain how we can get this and how we want to achieve it. When you carry on propaganda among the masses—Lenin wrote at that time—one must always be very concrete, not talk in general watchwords but explain, give simple and truthful answers to all the questions. One of Lenin's characteristic features was that he knew how to approach the masses very concretely. He never promised anything, never gave any promises, but only said what he himself was thinking. And the workmen said about Lenin: 'He talks to you seriously. . .'

Lenin knew how difficult was the position of the peasants. And so together with the call for peace, he talked about the necessity of putting forward another slogan, that the land should become the property of society. He talked about taking the land away from the landlords. In Russia our peasants hated the landlords perhaps more than in any other country, because it was not only a question of the land being the property of the landlords, but they actually

*The Socialist Revolution took place on October 25 (Old Style), or November 7 (New Style).

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farmed it, and in farming it so oppressed the peasants that the peasants hated them particularly, not only as rich people but as their direct oppressors* . . . Therefore the soldiers who mostly were peasants responded particularly warmly to this slogan that the land must be taken from the landlords. The imperialist war had clearly shown that the imperialists, the capitalists, had no thought for the masses and were ready to sacrifice thousands and millions of workers for their own benefit. This the masses could understand. Then there was the question of power, about the necessity of taking it. This question required particularly to be explained. And so Lenin dwelt on the necessity of carrying on this work of explanation. It had a great success, this work that the Bolsheviks undertook, because we chose the slogans which particularly agitated the masses. . . At that time in every house and everywhere people were talking about sacking the capitalist ministers.† Even the children were listening to what the grown-ups were saying. You would see a boy of six playing in the yard. He would set up ten stones in a row, throw another stone at them and shout: 'Down with the ten capitalist Ministers!'

I remember the days of July. I was working in the Vyborg District. We had a conference on cultural work fixed for that day. Representatives from the Machine-Gun Regiment were to come to discuss how to best organise cultural work among the machine-gunners. I waited, but no one came. Then I went to the Kshesinska Palace, where the Secretariat of the Central Committee was. Lo and behold, there were the machine-gunners, marching under arms. . . I remember the following scene: the Machine-Gun Regiment marching and an old workman coming out to meet them, crossing the road in front of them, stopping and bowing with the words: 'Stand up for Soviet power, comrades!'

This action was to a certain extent unexpected by the Party. We discussed the question of what ought to be done, and the Party decided that the action should be stopped. Then the Central Committee gave a directive to all our agitators to restrain this action. You know, when you have to agitate for something to be done, it is easy, but when you have to restrain people from a demonstration it is much more difficult. Everyone who has taken part in the revolutionary struggle knows that it gives much more satisfaction

*The poor peasants (over half of the 12,250,000 peasant households) held about one-seventh of all the land. About 135,000 private owners held over one-third of all land. To eke out a living, the poor peasants had to work most of the year not on their own land but on the landowners' estates—at wages which the latter were for practical purposes free to fix themselves.

†In May, 1917, under pressure from the public, the Provisional Government was reorganised, to take in some Socialists: but it still contained a majority (ten) of capitalist ministers.

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when you are agitating, when you are calling for a demonstration and it is successful. But when people want to act, and you have to say: 'No, comrades, you must pull down the barricades, it is not time for that yet, you will have to wait a little for action', that is difficult. And it was very difficult for the Bolsheviks to do this. I remember how one comrade in the Vyborg District, who happened to be working among the machine-gunners, lay down on the sofa and stared at the ceiling for a long time thinking about how he could come and persuade the machine-gunners that they had to surrender. . .

Then the arrests and the searches began. Lenin after the July days had to go into hiding, because they were looking for him everywhere and trying to trace his movements.

(Krupskaya remained behind in the Vyborg district of Petrograd. But in August, 1917, she went to visit Lenin in Helsingfors, Finland, using the passport of an old working woman to cross the border. She had some difficulty in finding him.)

A fortnight after my first visit, it was already September, I travelled again the same way, with the same passport, in a carriage full of soldiers. Only this time there was quite different talk in the carriage. For example a soldier comes into the carriage and tells us how at Vyborg they had thrown their officers over the bridge. There was a gentleman sitting there with a brief case, and he left the carriage at the very next station. All the way the soldiers were talking about how to take power. You go up to the window, a paper-seller is selling the Cadet paper *Ryech* and you should have seen how a soldier says to the seller, and with what contempt: 'I don't drink out of that bottle'. When I arrived, I told Ilyich about the mood of the soldiers, the mood of the Vyborg workers, and passed on to him all that the comrades wanted him to be told. And, you know, it was quite visible how he immediately plunged into thoughts about the time being at hand, when we should not miss the occasion, when insurrection must be organised. . .

(She refers to Lenin's famous article 'Will the Bolsheviks Retain Power?'*—first printed in England by the Labour Publishing Company (1922), publishers of* Labour Monthly. *It was written in September, only a few weeks before the October Revolution, setting out what would be the foundations of Soviet power.)*

Then he wrote a letter to the Central Committee in which he said: the moment now is such that we have to take power, because the capitalists of Germany want to conclude a separate peace with

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Britain, the Provisional Government wants to surrender Petrograd because it does not want to defend a revolutionary city, and now we must not lose the right moment... Those long years of emigration when he was studying how revolutions took place in different countries had been of exceptional value to him. Lenin had many times, for example, read and re-read what Marx said about insurrection. He knew the experience of the great French Revolution and the experience of the Paris Commune. Therefore in his letters to the Central Committee he gave the most concrete points; you cannot play at insurrection; if you have decided on it, then you must go through with it to the end. He said what points had to be seized, what bridges occupied, the telegraph and telephone stations, how to tie up with the troops, how to arrest the government and gave a detailed picture of how the revolution must be organised. . . In former days we revolutionaries used to think: 'The people will rise and tyranny will fall',* everything will somehow take place spontaneously. But the strength of the Bolsheviks was that they talked of insurrection and carried it out according to a definite plan, carefully thought out... The thing is that by this time the Soviets had already taken the side of the Bolsheviks, they had been sufficiently propagandised.† The Soviets were already for an insurrection. This was also one of the factors which showed that the time for insurrection had come. . .

The Provisional Government existed, but all the troops decided that they would obey the instructions only of the Military Revolutionary Committee of the Petrograd Soviet. Of course the situation became more and more acute. The Provisional Government decided to arrest the Military Revolutionary Committee (which included members of our Central Committee), raise the bridges in order to divide the Districts, and then began to draw together the officer cadet units loyal to the Provisional Government around the Winter Palace. The government concentrated its forces at the Winter Palace. In a word it was clear that the time had come when we must either defend Soviet power or be smashed. . .

(Meanwhile Lenin had come from Helsingfors and was in hiding at the flat of a woman comrade in a workers' house, in conditions of strict secrecy. Now the decision of the Provisional Government

*Krupskaya is quoting a line from the last verse of the famous Revolutionary Funeral March mentioned by John Reed in *Ten Days That Shook the World*.

†Throughout the autumn the workers and soldiers were withdrawing their Menshevik, Socialist-Revolutionary and other anti-Bolshevik delegates from the Soviets and electing Bolsheviks, or sympathisers with the Bolsheviks, in their place. In this way, the majorities changed, quite peacefully, in the Petrograd, Moscow and many other Soviets. Similarly the majority of trade unions had elected Bolshevik leaders; and at the 'Democratic Conference' convened by the Provisional Government in September most of their delegations supported the Bolsheviks.

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to raise the bridges over the network of canals dividing Leningrad into districts meant interrupting all communications. A messenger came to tell Lenin that the bridges were being raised.)

They had decided between them that Ilyich should leave. He was made up, and had a handkerchief tied round his head; it was all done very clumsily. On the way he lost his hat. . . In short they got to Smolny with great difficulty. Ilyich arrived and began to take a direct part in the leadership of the insurrection. Not knowing anything about this I came to Fofanova's flat and knocked in the way we had arranged. She told me that Ilyich had gone. Then the Secretary of the District, Zhenya Yegorova, and I got a lift on some lorry and went to Smolny. There the impression of the insurrection was so exciting that I do not remember whether I saw Ilyich there or did not. I was thinking about the insurrection. . .

Thanks to such preparedness and forethought the taking of power took place without many losses. The Provisional Government was arrested. Kerensky fled. I must say that we were all very kind-hearted at that time still. Our Red Guards sometimes discussed it in this way: 'Well, even if he is a member of the Provisional Government, he can be let out, he's not active'. And so Kerensky got through somehow while we were looking the other way and a few days later he began an assault on Petrograd. True it was a failure, but it was the beginning of civil war.

All this was taking pace simultaneously with the Second Congress of Soviets. And I remember Lenin's speech on the land question. Not far from me was sitting a revolutionary. He was wearing a sheepskin coat, in peasant fashion. And when he was listening to Lenin's speech, his face was somehow particularly lit up. It was obvious that he could see taking shape before him that lifelong dream of which he had thought for many years and for which he had struggled.

ENGELS ON ROBERT OWEN

His advance in the direction of communism was the turning-point in Owen's life. As long as he was simply a philanthropist, he was rewarded with nothing but wealth, applause, honour, and glory. He was the most popular man in Europe. Not only men of his own class, but statesmen and princes listened to him approvingly. But when he came out with his communist theories that was quite another thing.

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A NEW TOWN

A. H. Luker

Secretary of Harlow and District Trades Council

HARLOW New Town, situated on the main London to Norwich Road just north of Epping, was one of the first of the new towns following the passing of the New Towns Act by the Labour Government at the end of the last war. As at first proposed, these new towns were to be self-contained units, providing work and social amenities for all living within their boundaries, to relieve the overcrowding of London and other provincial cities. Here was a grand opportunity for an experiment in Socialist planning, but what is the picture today? Harlow, now approximately seventy five per cent complete, with development slowed down to allow for the growth of the present population, still has no hospital or maternity unit, even though it has a birthrate far higher than the national average. A town of young people, but no swimming pool; the local authority, still in its infancy, struggling to raise the cash for a sports arena. But, like Crawley, the problem uppermost in the new towner's mind is that of employment. Daily, hundreds of people leave the town to travel to work in London or elsewhere, because suitable employment is not available for them locally. Coach hire firms now find it is a lucrative business to run coaches from the town to Fords at Dagenham, Vauxhalls at Luton, and to other centres. London Transport and British Railways are being forced to increase their services to cope with the extra travellers. During last year action had to be taken in a number of factories to prevent large scale sackings because of work shortage. Short-time working in the cabinet industry still faces some of its workers, who find it increasingly difficult to meet hire purchase commitments together with the high cost of living in the new town. The trades council took a leading position in rousing the organised workers to agitate for improved employment prospects. The Development Corporation and Government departments were written to and visited for this purpose. Today, whilst the position has improved it is still unsatisfactory.

Together with the problem of their own employment, the people are now faced with what may become a far more serious problem, suitable employment for their children. Because of the present very unbalanced age structure in the new town, most people are in the twenty-five to thirty-five age group; there is a very high child population who will shortly be seeking employment, at a time when

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there will be very few people retiring from work and also when local employers are not too receptive to taking in apprentices. At the start of the 1959 summer holidays some 260 young people left school. By 1964 this number will have increased to 1,420. By the time last year's school-leavers reach adult age some 5,000 children have to be found employment. These figures mean that in Harlow by 1964 there will be approximately 500 per cent increase in the number of school-leavers over last year's figure, compared with a thirty per cent increase in the national figure at the peak year of 1962. The trades council, realising that this problem was coming some two years ago, called a conference of all trade union branches in the town, arising from which local and national press publicity was given to the issue, and a campaign of agitation to have something done was launched. The county Education Authority has now accepted some responsibility for this by appointing a full-time Youth Employment Officer for the town. The Development Corporation have been forced to change their attitude from one of there being no problem, to recognising that there is a problem and that the measures they propose taking will only provide employment for about 80% of these school-leavers. The local Labour movement is by no means satisfied with this and continues to agitate for steps to be taken to provide adequate training and suitable employment for these young people. The local trades council has taken on the active leadership of the trade union movement in the town, striving to build up organisation, rallying support for any section of the movement in struggle, whether it be nationally as with the busmen and printers, or locally with our own employers; continously struggling to build unity of the whole of the Labour movement in the fight against Tory policy. Last year the first May Day demonstration was successfully held in the town, in which the demand for full employment, adequate social amenities and other new town problems were linked with the demand for peace and an end to nuclear weapons. The experiment in building new towns can be a tremendous success. But this will only happen when the Labour movement, not only in the new towns, but also nationally, take steps to see that this is made the case.

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VIEWS OF THE WORLD

Forty Years Ago

WHEN I was about ten years old I was given a shooting game called 'The Sidney Street Siege'. The target was made of cardboard with a facing representing a warehouse building in Sidney Street, London, and at the windows were figures resembling Peter the Painter and his colleagues. A spring gun with wooden bullets was also supplied and I was invited to shoot the 'bandits'. Ten years later, in 1919, while serving in H.M. Forces, I was given a rifle and ammunition and sent to Russia to help in the evacuation of British troops who, we were led to believe, were trying to escape from the Bolshevik 'bandits' before winter set in in the Arctic Circle. Another ten years were to pass before I was to learn why I was sent to Russia and who the Bolshevik 'bandits' really were. That came about through the introduction, by a friend, of a copy of *Labour Monthly*.

One day in July, 1919, the 19th Battalion Machine-Gun Corps was formed up in a square at Shorncliffe Camp, and addressed by the Commanding Officer. Whether it was the weakness of his voice or the way the wind was blowing, I could not catch what he was saying but occasionally heard the word 'Russia' being mentioned. Most of my company were in the same predicament, but we were soon to learn that we had volunteered for service with the North Russian Relief Force that was to be sent out to assist in the evacuation of British troops who had been there for over a year and were now in difficulties. Once we heard that, we were quite pleased to be looked upon as volunteers and besides, there was the seven days draft leave to look forward to.

I well remember my first sight of Russian soil. It looked so grey and not at all inviting but improved a little as we entered the inlet leading to Murmansk. Approaching the quay we passed one of our naval ships, H.M.S. *Glory*. The sight of it cheered us up. Work began almost right away unloading guns and equipment which were carried on to a train in which we were to travel for the next three days to Soroka. That rail journey was to be the strangest one that I have ever made. Apart from the fact that from either side we were liable to attack from the many Bolshevik bands that roamed about, the 'loyalty' of the engine-crew was questionable. One outstanding incident was when the roof of our carriage went on fire and the engine driver refused to stop the train until a few men and an officer crawled along the roofs of the carriages and at the point of the gun compelled him to stop and we were able to extinguish the fire. We arrived at our destination south of Kem and from then onward 'Shank's pony' was our mode of transport.

Our first meeting with the Russian people took place that night when we were billeted in the few houses of the first village at which we arrived. The furnishings of the house I stayed in were the crudest I have ever seen. We found the family of the house very friendly and, in spite of the language difficulty, we managed to exchange foodstuffs to the satisfaction of both parties. The family consisted of an old man and woman, a young

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woman and three children. Young men were not to be found, they were either in the ranks of the 'loyal' Russians or Bolshevik Army. Being tired after our long march we soon settled down with our blankets on the floor alongside the family who arranged themselves around the fireplace. When the old lady saw us placing our rifles alongside us she left the room and returned with a double-barrelled gun which she carefully cleaned and loaded and placed alongside herself. She too was taking no chances—but with whom?

From this place we made a few jaunts into the surrounding district but failed to contact the Bolsheviks. During these trips we often had to cross small lakes and, for transportation, fairly large rowing boats were commissioned each having four or six women to do the rowing. It was during one of these trips that a rather unpleasant incident happened. We had almost crossed a lake and were passing a small island thick with trees and shrubbery when one of the women started crossing herself for no obvious reason, and this made us suspicious. The sergeant of our party pulled out his revolver, and threatened her, accusing her of signalling. The rest of us took a more reasonable view and warned him to await developments. The rest of the crew rallied around this woman who was by then in a very agitated state and shouting what I took to be words of abuse at the sergeant. The attitude of the rest of us calmed matters a little and as we got nearer the island the women pointed to a clearing and there were six graves laid out in mound fashion with a wooden cross at each. We were very relieved and glad that common sense had prevailed and we made our apologies as best we could by signs.

Our first engagement took place a short distance from where we had set up our headquarters. As machine-gunners we were to put up a barrage after which the marines advanced in extended order. Most of these men were of C3 category and had suffered a great deal the previous winter in the Arctic Circle and, although they displayed great gallantry, they were no match for the large number of Bolsheviks they were up against in the approaches to the village. They suffered a good number of casualties and had to retreat. A decision was then taken that a small force of us would have to be left behind while the main body of the marines and our company returned to headquarters. We were supported by a small body of Russians. We had just drummed up a dixie of tea and were settling down to enjoy it when we heard the sound of horses' hooves aproaching at the gallop. There were two riders. The first a high-ranking officer in the Russian Army and the other an orderly. On being challenged, the officer shouted that he was General Dadenoff (that is the nearest spelling I can give to what it sounded to me) and added that there was a band of Bolsheviks coming up on our rear. The attack seemed to last for hours, sometimes diminishing to an occasional rifle shot. At last daylight came, the Bolsheviks had retired leaving eight dead, most of whom were young lads of about eighteen who must have been shot while lying down taking cover as the bullet holes were in the crown of their heads. We found that our corporal was missing and immediately started to search for him. On going down the river bank we encountered a wounded Bolshevik coming towards us with his hands up. On reaching him he kept repeating the word 'Comrade' and pointed in the direction from which he came. On scouting around we found the

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body of the corporal with a chest and jaw wound and beyond help. The Bolshevik prisoner was handed over to the small body of Russian troops and the last I saw of him he was limping along in their midst. What fate awaited him was very uncertain if the stories we heard were true. Eventually we arrived at our headquarters.

A few days later we took up positions on the top of a wooded hill overlooking a village that was another stronghold of the Bolsheviks. All that we could see was the rounded dome of a church and the tops of some houses which were scattered around it. We put up a barrage then a company of Serbs attacked while two of our bombers flew over the village dropping bombs. The sergeant of the boat incident rather foolishly climbed on top of a boulder to get a better look with his field glasses. Whether from a stray shot or a sniper he received a fatal wound. He lies buried in a cemetery not far from the one which the Russian boat woman so reverently recognised. The last I saw of the church was the dome crashing down in flames. What took place in that village before the close of that Sunday night I will never know but I can well imagine. That job done we returned to our billets and slept peacefully. Soon after we started back to Murmansk, where we immediately boarded the S.S. *Ulua* and sailed for home. Within four months of leaving the Arctic Circle we were on our way to the plains of India, but that is another story that was to school me still further in the ways of British imperialism.

Was our journey to north Russia in the autumn of 1919 really necessary? I am convinced that all that was required to evacuate our troops was an official notification to the Soviet Government that our troops were withdrawing and that every assistance would have been given. Instead, much bloodshed and millions of pounds had to be spent before the Labour movement succeeded in their 'Hands Off Russia' campaign.

P. G. OLIPHANT.

Students' Action

THE tendency of a section of the 'older generation', holding positions of influence and professing to be knowledgeable, seems to be to condemn young people as not measuring up to the standards which they conformed to when they were young. Youth is now described as being apathetic, callous, indifferent, and a crowd of drifters. As well as giving the diagnosis, many 'experts' also try to explain the cause. Dr. John Burton of the World Health Organisation attributes the 'callousness and exhibitionism' of teddy-boys 'to precocious adolescence resulting from better nutrition, to deprivation of maternal affection, to yearning for stability and gaiety which is supposed to have preceded the first war, and to the normal swing of the pendulum temporarily arrested by the last war'. The Fabian W. I. Rodgers says about the present crop of university students 'they are operators rather than innovators, men and women who will work the system and not try radically to change it' . . . 'they are sceptical, detached, and busy with their own pursuits. The immediate prospect is that they will stay so'. The fact is of course that young people are quite deeply concerned about changing things, and putting right the chaos at worst caused, and at best tolerated, by the very politicians, businessmen and

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others who are their strongest critics. They may not always express their desires in practical actions, admittedly, but in recent months this is in fact increasingly what they have been doing.

To take the most important issue of the moment—nuclear disarmament and the coming Summit Conference. Young people formed the backbone of the Aldermaston March and students were the largest individual group of people, it was estimated. Nor does activity stop merely at a yearly march. From this year's march a group of young people volunteered to carry the banner of the Campaign for Nuclear Disarmament to the Summit Conference and to Geneva—a journey cut short when they were turned back at Calais. Since its beginning student branches of the C.N.D. have been among the most active and a national body, the Combined Universities Campaign for Nuclear Disarmament was set up as a result. This body was one of the sponsors of an international conference on nuclear disarmament for students and youth just before Easter. 73 delegates and 35 observers from 26 countries attended the conference. 44 organisations were represented, including from Britain, Combined Universities Campaign for Nuclear Disarmament, Catholic Students C.N.D., Young Friends, Student Labour Federation, Youth Peace Campaign. (The delegation from the Soviet Union was, significantly, refused visas.) Every resolution passed had to be accepted unanimously for inclusion in the policy of the conference, but the policy which finally emerged was well in advance of the C.N.D. policy which so far has been widely supported by youth and in particular by students. The conference, considered as a prime objective a campaign for international agreement between the four atomic powers, for complete nuclear disarmament and demanded an immediate agreement to drop all nuclear tests. It protested against the French tests in the Sahara, demanded the abolition of all nuclear bases, stated opposition to all military pacts, protested against the recent U.S.—Japan Security Treaty and declared its opposition to the arming of West Germany. It urged France and Britain to have no part whatsoever in an interdependent NATO deterrent. While the programme of action for furthering these aims was limited, the policies themselves provide a basis for agreement among very wide sections of youth, as was indicated by the diversity of political ideas represented at the conference. Not only should they increasingly win their place in the existing peace movement but should contribute to its extension. The setting up during the past months of two organisations, the Youth Peace Campaign and the Youth Campaign for Nuclear Disarmament, has marked the culmination of intensive youth activity for peace, and as a result further and more co-ordinated activity has been possible.

Young people are campaigning not only on the specific peace issue, but also on many other current questions—notably on the racial segregation and apartheid policy in South Africa. Students were among the first to express opinion as an official body on the question of apartheid. At the Council meeting of the National Union of Students in October 1959, a resolution was passed condemning the policy of apartheid applied to South Africa's universities (unfortunately their standard policy is only to discuss questions relating to 'students as such'). N.U.S. also announced its

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intention of advising its constituent unions to operate the boycott of South African goods. Following this a considerable number of colleges and universities decided to support the boycott (and carry it through in one degree or another). Throughout the boycott month of March, students and other young people were active in picketing shopping centres and lobbying shopkeepers to agree 'not to buy South African'. Strong protest was aroused towards the end of the month when the Sharpeville shooting and subsequent repressions happened. Students demonstrated all day for several days outside South Africa House following the shooting. At the latest N.U.S. conference in April a Student Committee Against Racial Segregation (S.C.A.R.S.) was set up at an impromptu meeting of 200 delegates. This committee organised a demonstration on May 14 with a view to getting the Commonwealth Prime Ministers Conference to bring pressure to bear on South Africa to end its murderous policies. This demonstration was attended by 600 students and youth. Apart from these larger campaigns, students and young people are always actively interested in things which affect them more individually—students in demanding better grants, and apprentices fighting for higher wages. Thus students and young people have recently shown that when it comes to important world and national issues, which affect not only themselves but others, they are by no means apathetic. They sense, even if it is only instinctively in many cases, that the present set-up is wrong, and naturally they react against it. It is when they begin to realise what specifically is wrong that they begin protesting actively and positively and do something to bring about change. This is the reason why youth comes under such heavy fire from these critics who know that potentially, and even actually, youth can bring irresistible pressure to bear on them to change their outmoded policies for programmes of action which can guarantee us and everyone else the future we demand as a right.

JUDY ATKINSON.

(Medical student, Chairman of the London University Union Communist Society.)

Canadian Memories

WILLIAM GALLACHER'S review of *Our Fight for Canada* by Tim Buck brought back memories of the author's wise advice in Canadian affairs, particularly during the economic lunacy of the 'Hungry Thirties' when the Communist programme to solve the anomaly of poverty amidst plenty was met by police bludgeons and jails. The rottenness of capitalism and the need for socialism was proved completely, then as now. Following the economic debacle of 1929, many of us lost our jobs, became social cast-offs in the prime of life. Across Canada nearly a million workers were unemployed, plunged into the depths of misery with poverty, hunger, bread-lines, soup-kitchens and concentration ('relief') camps. From coast to coast, freight trains were loaded with transient workers, driven hither and yon, victims of a social system rotten to the core. I travelled thousands of miles as one of these 'beggars of life' unwanted everywhere. Farmers, too were in a desperate plight, their produce worthless, their land about to be seized by the banks. The Communist Party, led by Tim Buck, did their utmost to organise against

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the social rot. There was an abundance of everything to assure the good life for all in Canada. Granaries were replete with grain; packing plants glutted with meat; warehouses filled to the rafters with every kind of goods. Great piles of lumber and building material were available, while equipment for building much-needed roads and highways lay unused. Greatest wealth of all was a skilled, working people eager to build up this vast, new country but forced to live in degradation whilst ample to meet the needs of all was all around them.

The Communist programme called for work at a living wage, building homes, schools, hospitals and highways to end the stagnation. The Social-Democrats (Co-operative Commonwealth Federation) offered pious phrases but no action—'You deserve it if you don't elect us'. The Tory government in office elected on promises to meet the crisis, gave us the police state, poverty enforced by police truncheons, cooked up the Criminal Code to outlaw the Communist Party, arrested its leaders on trumped-up charges and Tim Buck was given five years imprisonment. His speech in his own defence was a lesson to the judge. The Dominion premier then was that 'czar of starvation' R. B. Bennett, later the 'pious' Lord Bennett. Despite his police state, a Communist delegation bearded him in his cabinet den, and demanded work and wages. Bennett exploding in holy horror 'Where is the money to come from?' showed them the door. The money involved was $250,000,000 (£60,000,000 then). When the war came some years later, billions of dollars were raised overnight, 'the way of life' of capitalism. The Communist Party ignored illegality, grew until the authorities became jittery. Tim Buck spent over two years in Kingston Jail where an attempt was made by the authorities to murder him. Bullets poured into his cell and only quick thinking saved him when he dived out of range. Yet he organised a Marxist study group in the jail, had eager students. Growing public pressure forced the release of the Communist leaders. Tim Buck made a memorable tour of Canada, the prison pallor still on his face and many of us met him for the first time. We found him to be a real man of the people, a great teacher and example, known to us all as Tim. The book concerns policies that down the years have proved the Communist viewpoint to the hilt. There is one sidelight on the author that deserves to be told. When released from prison, Tim was offered a very lucrative job by the authorities. 'But I already have a good job' Tim told them. 'Oh, what is it, Mr. Buck?' they asked. 'It is secretary of the Communist Party of Canada' answered Tim. Like Willie Gallacher, he could never be bought.

H. G. S.

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DOCUMENT OF THE MONTH

DECLARATION OF CONAKRY CONFERENCE (April 16, 1960)

The second Afro-Asian People's Solidarity Conference, meeting at Conakry, Guinea in April, issued the following declaration:

The Peoples of Africa and Asia whose representatives have gathered here in this second conference at Conakry from 11 to 15 April declare our firm confidence in our moral and spiritual strength arising from our solidarity and our determination to continue unceasingly the struggle for our national independence.

No imperialist machinations can destroy the unity of the African and Asian peoples in the struggle for national independence, freedom and progress. At this vital juncture in world history, we proclaim our unshakable resolve to play our positive and decisive role in shaping the destiny of the world, of which we constitute the great majority, taking mankind along the high road of independence, liberty, prosperity and peace, putting an end to colonialism and imperialism which have brought about injustice, destitution and ruin.

The peoples of Africa and Asia have chosen their way to the realisation of these aims, a way which is clear and precise. The first step along this way is the achievement of national independence. We are determined to destroy all obstacles along this road of freedom and ensure that there shall never be a return to the past.

The second conference hereby reaffirms its adherence to the great spirit of Bandung and reiterates here the ten principles of Bandung:

First, respect for the fundamental rights of man and principles and objectives of the United Nations Charter.

Second: respect for the sovereignty and territorial integrity of all nations.

Third: recognition of equality of all races and of equality of all nations, large and small.

Fourth: abstention from intervention or interference in the internal affairs of other countries.

Fifth: respect for the right of each nation to defend itself, singly or collectively, in conformity with the Charter of the United Nations.

Sixth: (a) abstention from use of arrangements of collective defence to serve particular interests of any of the big powers; (b) abstention by any country from exerting pressure on other countries.

Seventh: refraining from acts or threats of aggression or use of force against the territorial integrity or political independence of any country.

Eighth: settlement of all international disputes by peaceful means, such as negotiation, conciliation, arbitration or judicial settlement, as well as other peaceful means of parties' own choice, in conformity with the Charter of the United Nations.

Ninth: the promotion of cultural interests and co-operation.

Tenth: the respect for justice and international obligations.

We extend our hands of friendship to all men. Nevertheless, long and bitter experiences have taught

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us to discern our friends from our foes.

We, peoples of Africa and Asia, declare that we shall never at any price permit our national independence to be made a matter of bargaining. The heroic resistance of the Algerian people is a most eloquent example of this.

National independence implies the fullest control of our own rich resources and potentialities and an end to their exploitation by foreigners and a handful of monopolists. It means an end of domination of colonialism over the Afro-Asian peoples, an end to misery, discrimination and poverty and the beginning of a period of equality for all.

Our struggle for independence and prosperity is at the same time a struggle for world peace. The Afro-Asian peoples who stand out as a solid force for peace will fight with all our might and resources against military pacts, alignments and all other efforts which seek to destroy through a nuclear holocaust, all that the genius of man has created for the well-being and prosperity of peoples.

We have faith in the future of humanity. We have faith in the intelligence and wisdom of mankind. We are confident that a great era of peace and progress for humanity shall dawn despite all obstacles. In realisation of this new era of fraternity and peace the solidarity of Afro-Asian peoples in the struggle against imperialism and for the building of a new world shall play a more and more decisive role.

PUBLICATIONS RECEIVED

BOOKS

Power at the Top. Clive Jenkins. MacGibbon and Kee. 293 pp. 21s.
A Nest of Gentlefolk and Other Stories. (Translated from the Russian: Introduction by Jessie Coulson.) Ivan S. Turgenev. London University Press. 462 pp. 8s. 6d.
Der Reichstagsbrand. D. N. Pritt. Kongress-Verlag, Berlin. 79 pp.
Sociology (The Study of Social Systems). G. Duncan Mitchell. University Tutorial Press Ltd. 174 pp. 11s. 6d.
Educating Young Nations. W. E. F. Ward. Allen & Unwin. 196 pp. 15s.
Communism in South-East Asia. J. H. Brimmell. Royal Institute of International Affairs. O.U.P. 414 pp. 42s.
V. I. Lenin on Britain. Foreign Languages Publishing House, Moscow, and Lawrence & Wishart. 624 pp. 6s.
Lenin. N. K. Krupslaya. Foreign Languages Publishing House, Moscow. 552 pp. 8s. 6d.
Capital. Volume III. Karl Marx. Foreign Languages Publishing House, Moscow. 924 pp. 9s. 6d.
The Glory of Parliament. Harry Boardman. Allen & Unwin. 208 pp. 21s.

BOOKLETS

China Will Overtake Britain, Niu Chung-Huang. Foreign Languages Press. Peking, 1958. 66 pp.
China Supports the Arab People's Struggle for National Independence. Chinese People's Institute of Foreign Affairs. 242 pp.
Kurdistan (Divided Nation of the Middle East), S. S. Gavan. Lawrence & Wishart. 56 pp. 4s. 6d.
Co-operatives in the Soviet Union, Israel E. Friedman. Soviet News Booklet No. 36. 30 pp. 6d.
St. Pancras Story, John Lawrence. 20 pp.
Gandhiji (A Study), Hiren Mukerjee. Suren Dutt (National Book Agency) Pte. Ltd. 216 pp. 5.50 rps.
The Twenty Years of the China Welfare Institute. Shanghai China Welfare Institute, 1958. 180 pp.
Soviet Proposals on Disarmament. Soviet News Booklet No. 39. 30 pp. 3d.
The Situation in the Taiwan Area. Soviet News Booklet No. 41. 26 pp. 3d.
On the Current International Situation. Foreign Languages Press. 74 pp.
Democracy in the U.S.S.R. Professor G. Glezerman. Soviet Booklet No. 45. 96 pp. 6d.
Soviet Proposals on Germany and Berlin. Soviet Booklet No. 46. 58 pp. 6d.
Seven-Year Plan Target Figures. N. S. Khrushchov. Soviet Booklet No. 47. 116 pp. 6d.
Soviet Information Bulletin (Soviet Criminal Law and Procedure). S.C.R. 1s. 6d.
Sixth Plenary Session of the Eighth Central Committee of the C.P., China. Foreign Languages Press, Peking. 50 pp.
Rural Electrification in Rapid Progress. Foreign Languages Press, Peking.
China Beats U.S. in Wheat Production. Foreign Languages Press, Peking.
Cyprus: The Solution. Movement for Colonial Freedom. 16 pp. 6d.
Abraham Lincoln and the Working Classes of Britain. The Commonwealth American Current Affairs Unit of the English Speaking Union. 36 pp. 2s.

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BOOK

Meeting Soviet Man
Manning Clark

Angus & Robertson. 120pp. 13s. 6d.

This book is by an Australian professor of history who in 1958 went to the Soviet Union as one of a delegation of three Australian writers to meet Soviet writers. Bearing in mind that (as pointed out in the *Communist Manifesto*) 'the bourgeoisie has converted the physician, the lawyer, the priest, the poet, the man of science'—and of course also the historian—'into its paid wage labourers', we shall not expect Professor Clark to be other than critical of what he saw. All the more remarkable are the concessions which honesty forces him to make.

Professor Clark concedes that in the Soviet Union there is no tipping or other mark of servility—'none of the degradation of the server, none of the embarrassment of the served . . . no inflaming posters, no reminders of what might happen unless you used a special soap . . . none of that buffeting of body and mind with which one is surrounded elsewhere . . . Soviet Man believes in the triumph of the human spirit, not in its defeat: in life, not in death . . . Wherever one walked, whatever one saw, whether it was the children's reading-room or the microfilm reading-room or the periodicals room, one felt a tremendous uplift, the sense of being with a group of believers away from Western cynicism, madness, despair, and dry academicism . . . Moscow is the capital city of a society dedicated to end the exploitation of man by man, dedicated to equality, dedicated to end war, dedicated to enlightenment'.

What is wrong then? For of course something must be wrong. Professor Clark cannot let the Reds get away with it like that. And his answer seems to be literally that the whole thing is wrong. He is rather like the man in the story who went to the zoo for the first time, saw a giraffe and exclaimed, 'I don't believe it'. He has been to the Soviet Union and seen men, women and children striving to build a new world; and his comment in short is that a new world cannot be built. Without defeat, despair and all the rest of it we should be lost: it would be 'the end of human history'. And what Soviet Man is trying to do, thinks Professor Clark, is to end history. Success would mean the end of great literature and of great music; for great art exists only to make bearable a life which is other-

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PUBLICATIONS

NATIONAL GUARDIAN, New York, is the voice of progressive America. Edited by James Aronson. 35s. annually. Order from Collet's, 40, Great Russell Street, London, W.C.1.

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wise unbearable. Fortunately 'such a dream can never come true'.

We have heard this before. It is Nietzsche's horrified wail at the prospect of 'universal, green-meadow happiness of the herd': it is Aldous Huxley's clamour for unhappiness, ugliness and disease as the only way to make life interesting. If Professor Clark likes to align himself with these end-products of bourgeois decay, we cannot stop him.

But even silliness should have limits. Professor Clark relates a conversation with a Soviet poet who very properly tells him that he does not 'wallow' in 'the bad things in life'. The Professor comments: 'Significantly he did not use the word evil'. In English anyway—I don't know how it is in Russian—'bad' and 'evil' are two ways of saying the same thing. What hair is Professor Clark out to split here? Or is it a metaphysical point too deep for my dull Marxist comprehension?

ARCHIBALD ROBERTSON.

LABOUR MONTHLY TWENTY-FIVE YEARS AGO

JUST BEFORE MUSSOLINI'S WAR

Abyssinia's prominent position in the political news of today surprises none but those who believe that the clash between the Italian native troops and the soldiers of Abyssinia at Wal-Wal was an accident. The outrageous demands of Italy and the consequential tension that these bring are forcing the eyes of the world to focus attention on the matter.

Twice already the Abyssinian and Italian troops have come to blows over territory which the Italians claim as their own. The proposed indemnity demanded by Italy from Abyssinia and her acknowledged salute to the Italian flag, would, even if Abyssinia acquiesced, be just a mere prelude to the dictator's intention of making Abyssinia a protectorate of Italy.

What other intention could Mussolini have? What other purpose can he have in mind for the mighty call to arms he has sent out?

(J. W. SMITH, *'Abyssinia—Italy's Manchukuo?' Labour Monthly*, June, 1935.)

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(Continued from page ii of cover)

of L.M.'s at a 'smoker' and was around the room with them and back sold out before the next song was called). I talked to many leading Labour Party members in Scotland (and later in Lancashire) discussing how to strengthen and improve L.M. Their view of it was most strikingly expressed, I think, by the national officer of a large union, who said: 'The magazine is so much respected amongst us because it has a class viewpoint on every topic. That's why it is indispensable for any real Socialist'.

From Perth I sped southwest to spend the night in Glasgow; but before midnight I was cheered beyond expectation by meeting there some of the grand new generation of engineering and shipyard apprentices, whose strike had covered the whole of Scotland and was then spreading further. Thence 200 miles south to Lancashire and Cheshire, to meet shop assistants and engineers busy at their annual conferences (and both knocked their platform for six on peace and the H-bomb). Impossible to detail here all the events at which 'L.M. was in the van', in every sense; but they included factory gate, pithead and a variety of meetings in Manchester, Oldham, Woodford, Stockport, Blackpool, Blackburn, Salford—yes, and Eccles, for ever associated with one of the fathers of scientific socialism. Here for twenty years Frederick Engels stuck to the grind, helping Karl Marx in a multitude of ways. What one man of Eccles, Manchester, thought then, many millions have proved true today, and more will tomorrow.

This is just a brief outline of a fortnight's tour which supporters of the Out-With-The-Manager fund made possible. Soon we shall see the fruit in many ways, I hope, of the discussions with convenors of some of Britain's biggest workshops, with trade union secretaries and presidents at national, district and branch level and a vast variety of other readers. Not least significant was the decision (although only here and there) to establish regular fund-raising on a collective basis. The need for this is obvious when we see that, following the great triumph of the March record fund, the April total is unduly modest.

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